1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

345 346 347 348 consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

349 At Sulemaneh, the Kurdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built [p. 350] of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. 351 Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harem*lik, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of 352 leafy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mul- 353 berry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is 353 the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons 354 sleep on the roofs of their houses. Snow, in the [p. 354] greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *sherdabs*, or hovers, over the tanks in the courts, or in holes, to escape from the flies, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of 355 Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his *Cyropædeia*, or History of the Life [illegible] mentions that the Kurdish boys their wives in connected elements, bk. iv. chap. 6.

irregularities of the slope, and the general process has been one of building around or avoiding them. It might also be remembered that this is a new town, built up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917.

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard, cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous, sunbeats, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare," a central artery of travel to which most lanes lead, corresponding in part to the street leading through the bazar. On reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out around the carel and join together just before the bazar to form the principal street and center. Where the bazar merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more important than others, divide to skirt the hill which dominates this upper area and join again above the town. Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of interwoven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard" mentioned above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined to the gardens and yards of private dwellings.

cradle is more or less perennial necessity for this class), 352
and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations 353
of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid 362
of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because
the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so
often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to put more detailed atten- 342
tion to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and land- 361
owners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic
life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of
rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an
interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to
the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked
on three sides by the building with the fourth left open,
and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or
Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of
the house and high brick walls on all sides. These court-
yards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with
hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, [361]
either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it,
watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of 342
such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a
layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same
material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a
white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are
usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the out-
side windows of the first story consist only of small,
unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Remains of

[illegible]

the summer heat; these rooms have a height which seems ab- 342
normal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve
feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally
raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the
level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those
of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in
wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist
of bundles of poles and twigs, and are usually left un-
finished, although a few have been plastered and pasted
with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed
with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before [356]
cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by
copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a
little of the flour. The roofs are equipped with long, [353]
smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter
and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the
roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of
these houses are of two storeys, and, although there is
considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of
which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in
the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is
marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient
the house and its windows so that household life, specifi-
cally that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the
street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a [351]
"true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the dwellings
are surrounded with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced
twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological [194]

pot invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of cut branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in these poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, as uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [364] 933 964

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretensions and is found in most cases on the first 353 379

fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children. A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Leli Khan and Leyla Amine, the Turkish wife of Khalil Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the divankhane if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy,

not found just as strongly in the illiterate Ba'idi peasant of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In Rowanduz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens, surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be entertained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular garden near Rowanduz is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel through the plot itself. The melons beneath fruits chilled in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and children of the house, in addition to playing there, are held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the proprietors, as might be expected, make much greater inroads on the produce than those they are set to guard against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, always to be found on the first floor and more or less open to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

341 poles, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about 1 metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in low rainfall areas this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[4]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[5] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, below. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. As many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sangalo, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden locks[6]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 11. Wall of sun-dried bricks, Tanganyika.

351 333 241

342
333
351

Fig. 16. Longitudinal section through a house with columns made of elm, vertical poplar trunks with spaces of wood between, and a cupboard. Yeşilyurt.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter consolidate or crack that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the second living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This second room, *heyvâti*[1], looks like a large niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall, thus becoming a cool, shady sport-room during the hot part of the year[2]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of elm, vertical poplar trunks[3]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars may trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenidian architecture which is known as far east as Chihilminar[4]. Cellars are welcome. The underground living room, *mahâl*[5], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [199]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys in the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accommodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[6] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stairs from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages, where they do occur they are made of clay with

Fig. 1. [illegible]

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides, the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admittance to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[1]. A guest wing is typical of the finer houses in Swedish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village or the region. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Berton, Edmonds and Lundell[2]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rekarne. An eight-angled stone step led up to the door of the family house; some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a hygge. The roof to this was supported by five columns of turned, low corrugated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hewn wooden blocks inserted as

[Text continues top of P 32 -- Analysis]

[illegible]

341
342
351
545

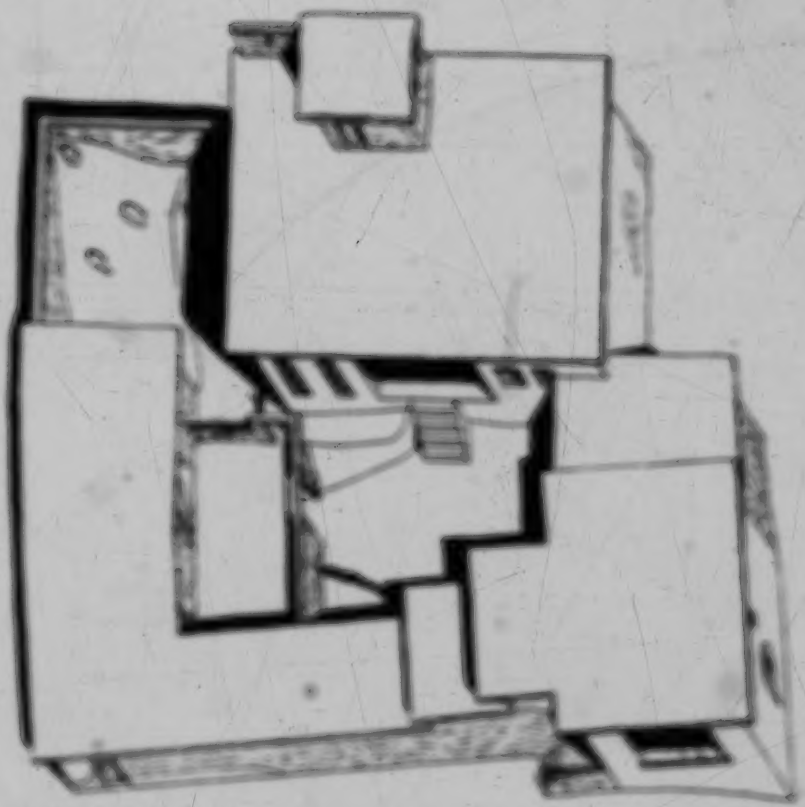

Fig. 5. [illegible]

[illegible]

342
361

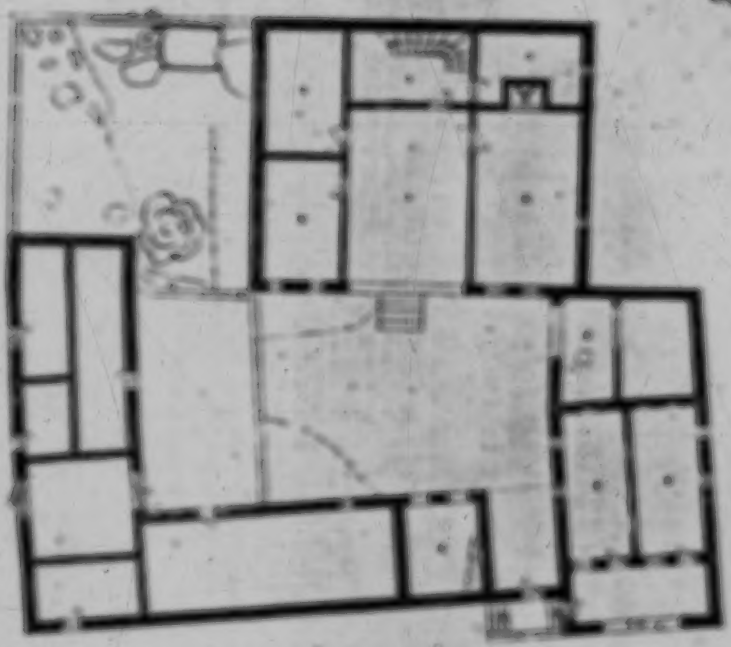

Fig. 2. [illegible]

The environment of the religious and of the ceremonial urban events

[illegible] of the Lodge from the street. Even here steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the family section of the house[4]. Along the wall facing the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a seatless, pear-shaped bowl of fine bowl with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with water-ribbon piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, to subdivide a water conveyance under which a few careful tin for washing feet taken to be obtained from the tap in the bath-room, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bath-room was constructed on the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Tuyuuna. The lamps then had three taps in all from which [illegible]'s guest and well-cleaned courtyard water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the golden wall and its entire were partly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural earth and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small kerb with a footpath, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central parts of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the wall around which was scraped away when needed after cooling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—like others, built of sun-dried bricks—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of keyhole—between. One opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of cement, which was also the case with the ceilings in the cool part of the house. Lighting the court there were barred glass windows giving right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and foodstuffs generally were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the penitentiary was separated

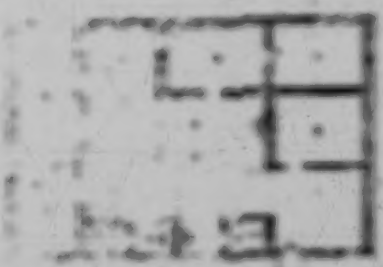

Fig. 84. [illegible] Family house. Tuyuuna
Scale 1:200
a - entrance hall, b - room, c - sleeping room, d - store-room, e - washing and latrine room, f - bath-room, g - [illegible]
f - latrine, g - guest room, h - [illegible]